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SECRET INFLUENCE:

OR

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ADMINISTRATIONS

VIRTUALLY THE SAME.

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SECRET INFLUENCE:

OR

BUTE AND PITT

ADMINISTRATIONS

VIRTUALLY THE SAME;

WITH A

DISTINCT AND COMPREHENSIVE VIEW

OF

HIS ROYAL HIGHNESS

THE PRINCE OF WALES,

AS

PRINCE AND PATRIOT.

Communibus periculis per remedia provisæ
Communitæ obviatur.

KING EDWARD *the First*.

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SECRET INFLUENCE, &c.

IT is the invariable fate of all super-excellence, whether in art or nature, to be in that perpetual danger of vicissitude and decay from which objects less beautiful, or less complicated, are happily exempt. No art can preserve the blush of the rose, nor give to nicer mechanism the durability of coarser construction.

This law may be observed to pervade all forms of government; and the various mutations of the English constitution may be adduced as so many proofs of its peculiar excellence.

Absolute monarchies and established republics admit of no change. Evils, however gross, and power, however tyrannical,

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must

must be endured with patient submission ; or, if repelled, must be repelled by the sword, by plunging the country in civil discord ; whilst the horror of the remedy gives a faint colouring of virtue to the disease, and half persuades all but patriots that acquiescence is less dangerous than conquest were even victory a certain attendant on the enterprize of glory.

Happily for us, moderation and wisdom, a sense of their own consequence in the people, and a sense of virtuous duty in our rulers, will secure to us those blessings which are denied to less happy forms of government.

But the ingenuity of man may devise modes of publick and private conduct which his passions will not permit him to adopt at all proper times, and in all proper situations. Hence the complicated evils resulting from political depravity, and private immorality.

The English constitution being divided into three branches, including all ranks of people,

people, the blessings of civil polity would be equally diffused, did not the love of individual power supersede the love of political harmony. Thus the imperfections incident to humanity are permitted to invade our civil as well as political felicities. And if we are not exposed to the rocks and shoals of monarchy or republicanism, we are incessantly struggling with the troubled waves of discord, involved in the rapid vortex of faction, or sinking under the silent eddy of encroaching prerogative.

The mutual jealousy of the three estates, though frequently productive of much internal disquietude, is nevertheless greatly preferable to the torpid inactivity, the sluggish apathy of governments less free. The commotions of party may darken the face of the constitution, and threaten imminent danger: but, like the glooms which cover the horizon, and fore-run the thunder, are virtually productive of a clearer sky and purer air.

Whilst the peculiar construction of our political system gives birth to so many parties, and whilst some one party must have the principal management of the public affairs, it is always highly incumbent on the people to be convinced that the persons forming an administration are worthy of the King's favour, and the confidence of the community; and to consider whether the means used to acquire these distinctions have been such as honour will countenance, and constitutional principles will warrant.

Liberty is never so much in danger from the attacks of Royal violence, and ministerial effrontery, as from Royal prosperity and ministerial popularity. A King and an administration beloved by the people may undermine the bulwarks of freedom. English generosity knows no bounds in the hour of national gratitude, or political festivity. Such a King, and such an administration, are no common treasures; and it then more particularly becomes every real
lover

lover of his country to ejaculate, in the language of the Litany—*Save us in all time of our Wealth, O Lord!*—for then, indeed, is the constitution in danger.

This language is not inapplicable to our present situation. We have a monarch whose late misfortunes have endeared him to his people; and an administration popular enough to carry almost any measure with the people, and which, on an investigation of its principles and conduct, will be found to derive its popularity from polluted sources, and to maintain it more by a wanton aspersions of its opponents, than by any actual merit of its own.

Too many writers have wasted their own time, and that of their readers, in enumerating the various qualities of the leaders of parties, and in contentions for superiority in senatorial abilities, and political knowledge.

Whilst each party can boast of its present names, all this seems to be useless. Neither party is destitute of talents, and
talents

talents sufficient for all the purposes of government. The only inquiry worth the publick attention, is, which party has displayed the greatest proofs of its love of freedom, obedience to the laws, and reverence of the constitution.

The principles of the Opposition are well known. Their virtues and their defects are open to the eye of day. Those of the administration are but as yet surmised; and whilst they seemingly pilot the vessel of state with a fair wind and prosperous gale, let not calm seas drown the recollection of hidden rocks: let us not heedlessly sail down the gulph of perdition, without enquiring whence they have brought us, and whither we are going. Let us examine the voyage we have already taken; and by the past let us judge of the future,

Previous to the recent indisposition of our gracious Sovereign, ministerial zealots, and the humble admirers of Royal endowments, appeared content that their palace
of

of adulation should be understood for the temple of unerring wisdom, from whence national blessings descended in pellucid streams of general utility, and individual advantage ; conducted by a minister whose private rectitude, *we are told*, gives certainty of publick integrity ; and whose genius, *we see*, pervading the clouded curtain of state, can render *darkness visible*.

But when the melancholy event of His Majesty's illness called forth the momentous question of Regency, which was to transfer the reins of government from Buckingham to Carleton House, a bolder and less equivocal figure of assertion took place.

A contumelious furor seized the minister, inflamed the spirit of controversy, and gave wings to calumny. What could not be coercively withheld, was hoped to be factiously eluded ; and where exclusive power ought to have been voluntarily lodged, an ineffective shadow was to be unbecomingly delegated. And that morals
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and money might on this occasion be made symbols of political righteousness, the wealth of ministerialists, and the sanctimony of Mr. Pitt, were foundingly contrasted with the presumed necessities and dissipation of Opposition : which presumed necessities and dissipation it was oraculously predicted would swallow up the national treasure, and transform a land of saints into an host of sinners.

Nor did allegorical ingenuity rest here. The Prince's Court was represented as the region of *Calypso*, in which the Graces were so many *Circes* ; princely spirit, undue ambition ; and patriotism, the enchanted wand which, when wielded in office, was to raise altars of personal emolument upon the ruins of public welfare.

In a word, Mr. Fox was a Hydra, teeming with portentous abilities ; Burke a political lynx, seeking whom he might devour ; and Sheridan a Scylla and Charybdis, whose syren wit and magic eloquence were to allure and wreck the Prince
on

on the rock of inglorious administration, and eventually ingulph our liberties and property in the overwhelming abyss of unrestricted regency.

But that our simplicity might not on this occasion be left to roam in utter fear and ignorance, without instruction whither to look for safety, or where to escape ruin, behold a *limited Regency* blazoned to our admiring sight, wherein we were kindly given to expect every protecting good, and might, indeed, have easily credited the *Legion*, could but human credulity and human perception implicitly consent to receive the visions of fabulists for the oracles of truth.

Respecting the Dukes of Devonshire and Portland, their wealth forbade presumptions of lucrative design; whilst their incontestible virtue, high reputation, and known independency, precluded any direct imputation of interest or sinister view. It therefore became necessary for the *Pittites* to hold up these noble personages as ostensible

fible shadows in a party whose intrinsic estimation, and the pre-eminent abilities of its leaders, could neither be depreciated nor denied : a party whose manly firmness and spirited zeal have at all times withstood the seductive torrent of ministerial influence, and not unfrequently taught Great Britain her real interests in the very teeth of prejudice.

Vigilant, able, and candid in their political conduct, meeting inquiry, and holding themselves amenable to that publick whose cause they espouse, they are necessarily the friends of the people, and the strenuous assertors of their rights ; uniformly opposing themselves to repel innovation, reform abuse, and preserve that constitutional equilibrium which holds “ the *balance* and the *rod*,” represses licentious discontent, and rejects the passive submission which injuriously yields.

That our present Opposition have done this in several important instances, their adversaries have humiliatingly experienced,
and

and their grateful country has witnessed with applause. And before their personal attachment to the cause of an accomplished and beloved Prince, be objected to them as a desire of inordinate power, and pecuniary aggrandizement, let us examine the fact beyond the superficies of vague appearance, and, by exploring the labyrinth of interior cabinets, exhibiting them in their genuine aspect of private policy and publick pretence, afford Truth an opportunity of dismantling fallacy, and merit a chance of being acknowledged without the blandishments of Majesty. or the dazzling illusions of ministerial agency.

For, notwithstanding his Majesty's recovery has most happily obviated any immediate question of Regency, yet an impartial investigation of party and principles cannot be a subject indifferent to Englishmen, or at any period impertinent to propose.

To elucidate this investigation with can-

dour and precision, recourse must be had to remoter time and progressive incident, particularly to the event of His Royal Highness's first Establishments, when, emancipated from *Gouvernantes*, and puerile discipline, he found himself at liberty to *think* like a man ; but to *live* like a Prince, was a point impossible to his circumscribed revenue ; and, it should seem, a magnificence heretical in the *economical creed* of Buckingham House, and an act of flagrant apostacy from the *saving grace* of Mr. Pitt, whose indignant ire burst forth in solemn reprobation, and rallied the ministerial phalanx to defend the Treasury against the wants of his Prince, the claims of just creditors, and the dignity of Royalty ; a dignity, in this case, most pointedly stricken at, and indefensibly insulted ; and this too at a moment when the very brilliancies of youth, the munificent disposition, and involved situation of a Prince, ought more especially to have commanded parliamentary

tary relief, or obtained him private aids from the coffered repletion of family accumulation.

However, this was a doctrine that Mr. Pitt had yet to learn, and which Buckingham-House did not choose to comprehend. And it is but impartial to allow, that His Royal Highness really possesses no one qualifying property which may pretend to deprecate the rigours of parsimony, or to propitiate the fastidious exceptions of hypocrisy.

Frank, noble, splendid, and debonair, he has no propensity for Germanick rapacity, nor any predilection for Bishop Prettyman's *Petticoat*, or Madame Schwellenberg's *Cap of knowledge*, in which she studies the arts of absolute government as practised in the Royal Academy of *Charlottesburgh*. Indeed we cannot deny His Royal Highness's recreancy against crooked prudence, and that he is extremely addicted to the liberal discretions: yet, what this disposition may want of recommendation

dation to the fordid, might, we conceive, be excused to their envy, where it only to convince the world that they possess some feeling, although they have proved themselves insensible to shame.

Accessible to merit, and disdaining to simulate, the Prince acts agreeably to the impromptus of an elevated mind and ingenuous temper. With an excellent understanding, informed by elegant knowledge, and fertilized by refined taste, his judgment is at once solid and embellished. His sensibilities are exquisite, and his passions consequently fervid; but being the fervour of an enlightened and generous nature, gives ample promise of resolving itself into perfections which ennoble the man, and constitute the great and virtuous Sovereign.

Indeed, we can hardly be too sanguine in the expectations we may form of a Prince who has already given the most indubitable testimony of his natural love of justice, and lively sense of right, by relinquishing,

relinquishing, even “ in the hey-day of the
 “ blood,” the necessary splendour and pro-
 per enjoyments of his rank and age, for
 the discharge of debts contracted by that
 generous disposition whose very errors are
 virtues : a conduct which, though it could
 not insure him the support of the minis-
 ter, nor preserve him against the attacks
 of Plebeian insolence, has endeared him
 to the judicious, and given to foreign
 powers a proof in what veneration he may
 be expected to hold the rights of nations,
 who pays so distinguished a regard and
 voluntary obedience to the laws of his own
 country : a conduct which threw his Royal
 Highness into a situation that, however
 honourable to himself, was disgraceful to
 the kingdom which suffered it ; a situation
 which, contrasted with the assuming great-
 nefs of Mr. Pitt, forcibly reminded us of
 one of those occurrences in the vicissitudes
 of life which had attracted the attention,
 and called forth the censure of Solomon :
I have seen Servants upon Horses, and
Princes,

Princes, walking as Servants, upon the earth.

Yet this is a Prince and a Patriot to whom the cabals of faction, and the voice of malevolence would ascribe the blindness of folly, the profligacy of a "*Groom-porter*," and a selection of favourites inimical to his glory, and dangerous with regal power.

Such daring and indecent insinuation, might possibly be reconcileable to the political tenets and ribald conception of its authors. But it must arouse the indignation of every unprejudiced and honest Briton, who feels with propriety, and thinks with honour and justice.

And when the Wool-sack bellowed and the Treasury-Bench resounded against unlimited Regency, methought the Key of the Exchequer might be heard in the Minister's harangue; and that it did not require supernatural perspicacity to discover the impression of the Seals in the florid apostrophes of the Chancellor!

That

That the Crown and the Heir Apparent should be political opponents, is a problem in modern policy, perhaps better to be imagined than eligible to explain; and certain it is, that the Prince has usually been driven into Opposition, to select his friends, and form his connexions from amongst the independent Peers and Commoners who are either unambitious of Court favour, or virtuous enough to forego interest when incompatible with principle.

Hence the Prince collects his adherents, and of course becomes an object of jealousy and fear to administration; and hence the people are taught to consider his patriotism as unfilial resistance; and nothing invidious is spared to represent his party as malecontents to government, and enemies to the Crown.

This colouring occasionally passes with the multitude, according to the popularity of the minister, or other local contingency. Yet it oftener serves to stimulate inquiry,

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and dissipate error; and it is then that publick sagacity, detecting this masque of State, is enabled to judge of men and measures consistently with truth and common-sense, which cannot easily be persuaded that Opposition signifies disloyalty, though there are not wanting those who would fain have us believe that it means sedition.

However, most fortunately for the reputation of individuals, and the prosperity of the common-weal, such misrepresentation generally defeats itself, and is sometimes known to recoil upon the heads which engender it—possibly with a view to their *necks*, between which and *retribution*, the learned assure us there subsists a natural attraction, although luck and artifice too frequently intervene to prevent so desirable a coalition.

When Scotch ascendancy was known to prevail, guided the wheels of government, and held the door of the cabinet, England might have seen without surprise

prise, her Prince's establishment prescribed upon the thread-bare principles of Caledonian economy; and on the question of Regency might have heard without wonder a British Parliament consent to parcel out the executive power as the crafty Scot does his politicks—" *Poower for ourselfs, and*
 " *gude wull for our country; but Trust,*
 " *Sirs, is proedigal, awb! and the de'el's*
 " *aine contrivance to catch leeberality wie:*
 " *and what is supplying the Prince's purse,*
 " *but sending the national money to circu-*
 " *late at haim, instead of enriching foreign*
 " *banks, or being appropriated—I say appro-*
 " *priated to the reequisite, and, ye ken my*
 " *lords, the indispenfible purposes of secret*
 " *service?*"

Does the apprehension of Englishmen recognize this doctrine?—and can the efficient measures of a *Bute*, because fine-drawn through the meliorating subtilties of a Pitt, be received for oracles of political excellence, and maxims of constitutional purity?—Certainly our citizens

have drank deeply of Lethe, or have imbibed a spirit of toleration which would permit the *wolf* to ravish that for which the *lion* durst not even contend. This surely is rare moderation. Yet let its profelytes beware that it prove not the sackcloth of repentance, embittered with the ashes of consumed privilege.

How far Scotch influence, or, in other words, a secret and undue influence may yet predominate, is a consideration of essential magnitude, a consideration which the great and patriotick Lord Chatham avowedly held to involve the very well-being of England, and may be said to have expended his latest breath* in admonishing and pointing out to his country the pernicious and fatal tendency of, and which, to use his Lordship's memorable allusion, is the “ *assassinating*

* This refers to Lord Chatham's celebrated and last Speech in the House of Peers, during the delivery of which he was seized with the illness of which he soon afterwards died.

“ *dirk*† in the bowels of the English constitution.”

His son William, would have us understand that he thinks with his noble father. But profession is one thing, and conduct another. And before we pin our faith on Mr. Pitt’s sleeve, it were but the duty of common sense to look for proof of his sincerity, examined upon overt facts and rational inference.

To pass over innumerable circumstances, that might be adduced, we shall here only ask, whether the interest and exertion of Lord Bute’s Son-in-Law, Sir James Lowther, did not largely contribute towards making Mr. Pitt Premier?

Has not Mr. Pitt acknowledged this obligation by the palpable fact of having in return procured Sir James Lowther his Earldom of Lonsdale?

Was not Charles Jenkinson, the absolute creature and acting Agent of Lord



† The Scotch dagger.

Bute,

Bute, the confidential passport of private intelligence between the *Closet* and the *Thane*?

Has not this Charles Jenkinson been essentially instrumental, first in recommending, and since in supporting Mr. Pitt's ministry? Has not Charles Jenkinson, in consequence, been created a Peer of the Realm?—And is he not by the united interest of Bute and Pitt,—the latter only accomplishing what the former began,—Chancellor of the Duchy and County Palatine of Lancaster, and Clerk of the Pells in Ireland?

Is not the *Gower Party** the confidential friends and ministerial coadjutors of Mr. Pitt, with whom he sits in the cabinet, and confers in the closet?

And has not this Gower Party, and also Lords Lonsdale and Hawkesbury, been

* That party which took its name from its ostensible leader, Earl Gower, now Marquis of Stafford, and which formerly united with it the Bedford.

invariably

invariably *Butites*, instruments of government, and large participators of its spoils?

Wherefore then should we believe that Caledonian influence and Caledonian politics do not prevail as much in Mr. Pitt's ministry, as when his glorious Sire immortalized himself by opposing and reprehending them?—and wherefore imagine that *Stuartite* tenets are not as potently administered through the active medium and extensive suffrages of *Susan Stewart, Marchioness of Stafford*, as they were felt to direct the British helm in the *sub-reign* of *John Stuart, Earl of Bute*?

To illustrate this, we shall take a brief view of the Marchioness in her political character.

We first find Lady Susan Stewart, in the Court and confidence of the late *Princess Dowager of Wales*; and on the Princess of Brunswick's marriage being chosen to accompany, and to reside for a time with her Royal Highness, in Germany, her Ladyship returned to England a declared favourite

favourite at St. James's, and in consequence married to her present Lord, then Earl Gower.

From this period her Ladyship may properly be considered Guarantee of the triple alliance which combines the Court, Gower and Stuart powers, in that coalescing band—the given faith of reciprocal services and common interest.

That the Marchioness is admirably adapted to her important situation we acknowledge: for, to the ablest policy she adds the *wary discretions*; and if her Ladyship is ever foiled in *finesse*, or frustrated in design, she may owe her defeat to the contingency of accident, but can never receive it from the force of superior cunning.

Whether actuated by native genius, or forming her conduct upon an higher model, Lady Stafford sapiently contents herself with ruling behind the curtain: obeyed by her husband, animating party, and *not known by the people*, she would have the
world

world believe her a cypher on the canvas of politicks, when she is, in reality, the *Colombine of State*.

Nor might it be offering any great violence to the justness of metaphor, were we to pronounce her Ladyship's brothers, the Earl of Galloway and the Hon. Keith Stewart, the *Pantaloon* and *Harlequin*. It is, indeed, but supposing that neither acts without the *vizor* or the *trick*, and the figure will then be found pretty complete.

Having thus far brought forward the publick capacities of this *Pantomimical Trio*, we would most gladly make an equal display of their personal virtues—could we possibly find them. But after a research of no common diligence, and of no remote knowledge, our inquiry unluckily terminates in disappointment. Perhaps the virtues sleep with their *Forefathers*—perhaps be hidden in the family *charter-chest*—or are more modestly enveloped in the parable of the *unclean spirits*.

The wordly aggrandizements of this

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Trio

Trio are, however, sufficiently conspicuous and redundant. Lady Stafford's reign paramount in the clustering honours and emoluments of my Lord Marquis: honours and emoluments principally derived from her Ladyship's *cornucopia* of secret influence and appropriating talents.

The Earl of Galloway, from being a man of no political consequence, nor, that we could ever discern, of any intellectual pretensions above the sublimity of *The Lads of Dunc **, is now Lord of the Bed-Chamber †, Knight of the Thistle and one of the Sixteen Peers; a court wit, and talks—"Gods! how he talks!"—upon the abstruse syllogisms of passive obedience and regal prerogative!

The preferments of the Honourable Keith Stewart have at least been equally successful with those of his Lordship. The bold, and we may say, the *bardy* Keith, from a subaltern who, in the

* A famous Scotch reel.

† He has also been a Lord of Trade.

ordinary

ordinary course of things, might have grown grey in that station, was, by Sisterly favour, rapidly raised to the rank of Commodore, and now, under the same fruitful auspices, is expected the next naval promotions to hoist an Admiral's flag over the heads of many older and more tried officers. For though we grant that his bravery is no way inferior to the bravest, his services have undoubtedly been comparatively few when mentioned with numbers of his contemporaries, who fought and bled for their country, while his destination laid him up in the lap of inactive safety.

But laurels, we know, cannot at the same moment be gathered in the arms of Bellona, and reaped in the fields of civil policy: and perchance the Honourable Commodore, in the *humility* of his nature, may be less desirous of *resounding* fame, than ambitious of *golden* trophies.

To recount the numerous connexions who hold their advantages from *Staf-*

fordingian interest would be rendering our pamphlet a catalogue of placemen and pensioners. Yet as the family alliance of Lords Carlisle and Dunmore, and Sir Archibald Macdonald*, entitle them more particularly to a place in our observations, we cannot omit remarking that their Lordships have severally been *placed* and *replaced*; and that Sir Archibald, not thought enough plumed by Knighthood and the English Attorney-Generalship, would on the late vacancy have had the Irish Seals, but that the better spirit of Ireland interposed to appoint her own Chancellor.

The odious and baleful effects of *Court Favouritism* need not be insisted upon; whenever existent, it has always been known to pervade and vitiate the springs of administration: and though the virtue

* Lord Carlisle and Sir Archibald Macdonald are Sons-in-Law to the Marquis of Stafford. Lord Dunmore is Brother-in-Law to the Marchioness.

of individuals, and the corrective salubrity of public spirit contain an antidote which, when judiciously applied, can happily expel the evil, or counteract its noxious tendencies, still the conflict cannot be sustained without constitutional injury: for in this case it is with the body politic as with the body physical, once poisoned, radical cures are seldom found to occur.

When Junius wrote, and Wilkes vociferated for liberty, the people were neither deaf nor insensible. The flame of freedom lighted up public spirit, and the Attic pen of the Satirist, irradiating Truth, and detecting corruption, communicated a blaze of virtuous indignation, and an execration of Favouritism which drove minions from the throne, and made delinquency tremble in the bosom of power.

But Junius is silent; and Wilkes, to render publick opinion uniform, and to give the *coup de grace* to his character, Wilkes is turned courtier; whether to unladen his conscience, or disburthen his
bene-

benefactors, is not for us to determine.— But we may hazard a less complex conclusion, that Pitt's taxes as oppressive to the subject, as general warrants were held to be arbitrary, shall unresistedly be thundered from the Treasury-Bench, till popular infatuation cease to mistake specious hypocrisy for consummate integrity, and take for granted that the King's minister must necessarily be the minister of the people ; and that *Favouritism* shall probably continue to tyrannize over justice, to supersede merit, and outrage common sense until another Junius arise to clip the pinion of its daring flights, and lash the vulture into perpetual ignominy.

It has been thought a fatality almost peculiar to sceptred Princes, that their favourites must either be national locusts, or tools of unwarrantable ambition. And as it cannot be imagined that Sovereigns are always the weakest of mankind, the singularity should seem to result from the worthlessness of those who usually surround
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and flatter the Throne : parasites and hypocrites, who equally watch to avail themselves of the virtues as of the foibles of Majesty, perverting good into evil, and building upon the fallibilities or indulgence of the Monarch a fortress of self-defence, whence they insult the patience of an aggrieved country, or brave the wrath of offended justice. And thus will it ever be until Kings shall unremittingly resolve against Court Favouritism, and govern less for themselves than for their people.

In answer to this, we shall possibly be told, that *Kings can do no wrong*, and that to deny them their preference of friends, or attachments of affection, were prohibiting the indivisible rights of humanity.—Be it so ; let them fill their hearts with these attachments, and throng their palaces with these friends. But do not let those favoured individuals indiscriminately engross power, and enjoy distinctions to the exclusion of better pretensions, and the prejudice of public advantage. And as to—*Kings can do*
no

no wrong—the axiom, we know, has its position in truth ; but we would rather see it illustrated by *conduct* than hear it quoted from *law*.

Among the flimsy objections which party interest suggests, and party prejudice supports, none are more current than the cry of Mr. Fox's *ambition*, and Mr. Fox's *gaming* ; as if the Sinking Fund could be staked on a card, and that ambition in *Him*, must be the very *Whore of Babylon*.—That he is ambitious, we grant. But it is the ambition of serving his country, and approving himself the greatest, as he is unquestionably the ablest, of Patriots. And if he is at any time desirous of engaging in office, it is because he may more effectually maintain as a minister, what he so well defends as a senator—the privileges and the majesty of the people.

Without intending any invidious comparison, we may be permitted to remark, that the partizans of Mr. Pitt might do wisely in speaking less of his personal qualities, in
contrast

contrast with those of Mr. Fox. They are men of entirely different descriptions. And if private worth had any thing to say in political rectitude, they who most intimately know both gentlemen will scarcely venture to tax veracity so heavily as to aver,—and if they did, we defy them to prove,—that Mr. Pitt is of the two the man best entitled to publick confidence, and individual esteem. Though we readily admit that with superficial observers, and vulgar opinion, sanctimonious semblance and adroit reserve have much the advantage over the manly sincerity and frank conduct of the Honourable Charles James Fox.

When the desperate emergencies of the state enforced and justified Mr. Fox's coalescing with Lord North, his enemies, with their wonted dexterity of colouring, strove to have his coalition deemed an act of venal duplicity, and that he had factiously obtruded himself into office, not only contrary to the wishes of the country, but the inclination of the Sovereign. That Majesty

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was

was not cordial “ there needs no *ghost* to tell us”—but that the country was averse, there requires *one* to convince us.

It has been the fashion to draw comparisons between Mr. Fox and Mr. Pitt, regarding them as the champions of each party. In point of abilities we will allow Mr. Pitt all his merits, and *we* will not do him an injury by comparing them with those of Mr. Fox, because we could never yet discover that they would bear it. When we have given him all the credit we can on the article of *talking*, where shall we look for further matter of competition? Through what kind of political glass shall we view the slender acquirements of the minister, to give them a comparative magnitude with the acknowledged experience, official information, and indefatigable zeal of Mr. Fox?

There is still a wider difference between their minds. It has always been Mr. Fox's ambition to consult the welfare of the people, and to preserve their weight in the
grand

grand scale of the constitution. This may unfold the secret, if any there be, why he never retains ministerial power so long as Mr. Pitt.

Respecting Mr. Pitt's talents as a Financier, it is not our intention here to bestow much animadversion upon them. The voice of the people is most likely, in this case, to be the voice of truth.—“ *They speak as they FEEL, and they feel as they ought.*”—Mr. Pitt's taxes all strike at Trade, and are more remarkable for being petty and troublesome to the publick and the collectors, than for their ingenuity or utility ; whilst some of them came in the odious form of *Excise*, a monster between which and the *Spirit of Liberty* there is the perpetual enmity of good and evil. The principles or the abilities of the minister who strengthens the power of the former may justly be suspected. If he does it from principle, he can be no friend to liberty, and consequently an enemy to the interests of the people. If he finds that, for want

of other expedients, he cannot extend his imposts without it, what shall be said of his abilities ? To add to the Excise laws has ever been held to indicate a love of unconstitutional power. The *Royal assent* which gives life to such a Bill seldom fails to prove a death warrant to the minister's popularity.

In the enormity of Excise, other objects, though of some magnitude, lose their importance. Englishmen, however, ought to regard the additional duty on newspapers, and the consequent total exclusion of a large class of the community from reading them, as a puerile attempt on the liberty of the press, in which, the minister well knows, all other liberties are involved.

Of the Shop tax it were needless to say much. It was conceived by Injustice, and brought forth by Folly. Its existence was, in some degree, proportionate to its deserts. It was doomed to suffer an ignominious death, from which not even Court Favouritism,

vouritism, nor ministerial obstinacy could protect it. But the subject is now worthy only of the silence of contempt. It is sunk in oblivion, and we " war not with the dead."

On the inexhaustible theme of the *National Debt*, we shall neither entangle our readers in the mazes of arithmetical calculations, nor ourselves in the commonplace declamation of party. The first would not be generally understood; and the last ought to be disregarded. We shall only observe, that whilst Mr. Pitt *tells us* he is diminishing this grievous burden, *we feel* he is adding to it, as much as additional taxes and a new excise can make us feel. Numerical and Parliamentary refutation we leave to the keener acuteness of Mr. Sheridan.

But to return to the present *Cabinet*. Lord Thurlow should, as their grand and leading adherent, have been mentioned with the Gower compact, but that his characteristic ambition seems to claim a separate distinction,

distinction, which our complaisance would not churlishly refuse him.

It cannot escape even the most cursory observation, that his Lordship's advancements and publick estimation as a Statesman at once answer and satirize the hacknied objection which ministerialists oppose to certain of the Opposition being patronized and employed by the Prince, because these Oppositionists, say they, are not men of family and fortune. But we see that Lord Thurlow, originally of unpretending and obscure fortunes, without birth or family interest, has by his talents and court favour, arrived at the highest dignity of office and greatest trust with which a subject can be invested. And does either himself or the kingdom consider this exaltation otherwise than a merited consequence of great and beneficial abilities, exercised in his legal and political capacities?—Nor, if a spirit of ambition, juvenile dissipation, sensual indulgence, and deranged finances, were circumstances which should render power dan-

dangerous, and favour reprehensible, the carousing life of "*Ned Thurlow*" would scarcely have attained for him Lord Thurlow's ermined honours and official situation. And instead of now holding the seals of England, ordering her Lords, and partaking the *reciprocations* of Buckingham House, he would probably have been wielding briefs, managing attornies, and enjoying the splendours of Temple chambers, with an occasional triumph over his rival competitors at *Nando's*.

To this, indeed, it may be retorted, that every candidate for preferment or political confidence has not his Lordship's expertness of attaching himself to *ruling parties*, or the more extraordinary facility of imposing ferocity for sincerity, overweening arrogance for laudable pride, and the frontless audacity of dictatorial insolence for supererogation of integrity and infallibility of judgment.—Thus what the *Puritan's cloak* does for the Minister, the *Bear-skin* performs for our Chancellor; and while
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publick credulity and individual pusillanimity are to be intimidated by the one, or wrapped up in the other, Thurlow shall, peradventure continue Court Hector, and Pitt State Priest, sanctifying deeds *done in the flesh*, and making faith tremble, lest in her belief she find shame, and in her trust she should be mistaken.

Lord Hawkesbury's temporal dignities, as those of Lord Thurlow, afford another instance, in immediate point, how talents *may* prosper, and how Princes *can* condescend: and there is one thing certain, that neither of these noblemen can ever be reproached with owing any obligation to hereditary pretension; abilities and party having been the aggrandizers of both. But should posterity wish for minuter information, we shall refer it to the secret history of Lord Bute, and the private archives of Rigby, Weymouth, and Gower.

Though we would not be forward in proposing subjects which might appear to glance at *Sacred Virtues*, yet in a point
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which so materially concerns the highest, and so universally engages publick speculation, we may surely stand excused in wishing to know why the Duke of York's life was suffered to be risqued, when the hazard, being previously known, might have been effectually prevented ?

We do not adopt the *Quidnunc* extravaganza of Theophilus Swift, Esq. and say it was "because Mr. Pitt lived in amity with Colonel Lenox."——But, adverting to another circumstance, we will venture to assert, that had not His Royal Highness exerted himself in favour of the Prince of Wales, and opposed the Regency scheme of the minister, the publick expectation would have been gratified in the Duke of York being made *Commander in Chief* : an honour to which his birth, his love for the army, and his acknowledged pre-eminence in military science justly entitled him.

When the Sovereign's malady occasioned a lapse of the executive power, and it remained with Parliament to appoint a Re-

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gency, that the Queen should be adjudged the proper guardian of the King's person, was a determination full of wisdom and equity : a trust which Her Majesty's conjugal affection indisputably claimed, and which her known principles gave the most perfect assurance of being performed with every regard to tenderness and fidelity.

But that with this guardianship should be delegated a State influence, surpassing, and in effect controlling, that of the Prince, extending domestick into executive government, and thereby rendering an Heir Apparent, every way competent to govern, subordinate to a Queen Consort—an alien—is a solecism in civil administration, an invasion of natural right and regal order, which the supposition of ministerial combination, or individual ambition can alone reconcile. Without such supposition, where are we to look for the restricting temper of Parliament?—or find a motive which should engage a Mother to accept—we will not say to seek—a political power subversive of her
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Son's interest, and tacitly implying personal reflection in the circumstance of his being nominated *second*, where every consideration compatible with his glory, and conformable to his birth-right, ought to have placed him *first* :——not dividing, but devolving power, and with no limitations but those which the laws and the constitution impose.

The histories of monarchy rarely furnish instances wherein we see Princes, like His Royal Highness, in arduous events which immediately strike at their grand interests, conduct themselves with such philosophick equanimity and highly generous forbearance. An Heir Apparent finding himself treated with injurious indignity, and hearing his claims contested by his Father's minister with as little ceremony as would be used towards his page : yet with these provocations for resentment and recrimination, our Prince conducted himself with all the greatness of moderation, and all the virtues of filial affection and filial acquiescence : com-

placent where he had been justified in being refractory ; and with a magnanimity which can never be too much admired and revered, disdaining the cabals of faction, evinced himself only affected by the melancholy occasion for Regency, and only solicitous of giving in his own person an illustrious example of disinterestedness, and respect for publick tranquillity, which a less temperate deportment, or a less noble way of thinking in His Royal Highness, must necessarily have endangered, if not involved in calamitous dissension.

And when with this his ardent temper, his powerful friends, and critical delicacy of situation, are considered, every dispassionate mind must open itself to a conviction of the exalted and extensive merit of a conduct so intrinsically excellent, and so patriotically displayed.

Much stress has been laid upon the restrictions having been carried by Parliamentary majority ; and if Parliamentary majorities were always the criterion
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of what is most eligible and right, or even the general sense of the people, the event were conclusive: in which case, wisdom and justice would have no business beyond St. Stephen's and the Lords; and the community being thus happily exempt from temporal cares, reason might resign herself up to senatorial leading-strings, and the world admire the docility on one part, and the prodigy on the other.

But while Parliamentary fallibility may be imagined, national suspicion will exist, and common-sense avail herself of the common privilege of judging and objecting. Therefore, before either the expediency or propriety of the intended restrictions be implicitly subscribed to, other proofs should be produced than ministerial majorities, or Buckingham-House requisitions.

We speak with a consciousness that to refute prejudice, and to establish truth, in cases of contested interest and publick concern, were points too complicated and multifarious

multifarious for individual argument to accomplish, or human concurrence to admit. Something must always be left to conjecture, and much must be allowed to dependent contingencies and the popular humour of the day.

His Majesty's indisposition excited general commiseration, and consequently engaged universal regret. Thus whilst publick attention deplored the Sovereign's misfortune, every thing that was to take from his immediate power, felt like an infringement of justice, or an aggrivance to his person. Under these impressions it followed that the Prince's claims were sunk in the idea of superseding, as it were, his Father; and hence the Queen, as seeming a counter-part of the King, gained a semblance of right to mix in administration which nothing but such prepossession could have granted to her; and of which there needed but the King's recovery to demonstrate the fallacy and impropriety.

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His Majesty's ministers, too, profited by this local prepossession. They were what is called the *King's Friends*, and they were more—*they were in power*. It is not, therefore, extraordinary that their proposition should have been attended to, and that their measures should be carried. But when, on the other hand, equity and reason shall be consulted against party interest and the influence of the moment, it will appear that the Opposition did not fail from a defective cause; and that they told in Parliament as great *names*, though not so many *numbers*, as the ministry. And if to this be added the voluntary suffrage of a loyal, gallant, and enlightened nation,* the balance will be found considerably to preponderate in the Prince's favour.

Neither these facts can be controverted, nor the equally obvious one that the present Opposition are full as able, wise,

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and virtuous as the present administration can possibly be supposed; full as adequate to the discharge of all the essentials of State and Constitution, and probably of more weight in the community, were it only from the circumstance of reckoning the Royal names of York, Clarence, and Cumberland, with those of Norfolk, Bedford, Devonshire, and Portland, Queensberry and Northumberland, Townshend and Lothian, Derby, Suffolk, Carlisle, Sandwich, Stamford and Exeter, Peterborough, Shaftesbury, Plymouth, Jersey, and Scarborough, Buckinghamshire, Hertford, Ilchester and Abergavenny, Cholmondley, Spencer, Stanhope and Fitzwilliam; Hereford, Bolingbroke, Maynard, Hampden and Stormont; St. John, Teynham, Craven, Boyle, Earl of Cork, Hay, Earl of Kinnoul, Cadogan, Stawell, Monson, Chedworth, and Besborough, Walpole, Pelham, Egmont, Vernon, Cardiffe, Hawke, Foley, and Porchester; Loughborough, Maitland, Southampton, and

and Rodney, Rawdon, Malmesbury, Landaff, Palmerstone, Galway, and North, Lord John Cavendish, Mr. Fox, Mr. Wyndham, Mr. Crewe, Mr. Anstruther, Mr. Grey, Mr. Dempster, and Counsellor John Lee : names sufficiently distinguished and illustrious, and represented by personal worth to insure public confidence at home and abroad; silence even the cavils of malice, and lend patriotism additional lustre : Not to mention Burke, Courtenay, and Sheridan, men whose independent principles, private friendships, and brilliant talents, must ever rank them high in senatorial consequence and public opinion.

The Parliamentary decision, that a sole and unrestricted Regency should not be vested in the Prince, is the strongest possible proof to what extremities their love of sway can carry an administration formed under the wing of secret influence, and who, knowing the Prince friendly to the people, dreaded the loss of their official situations, and the deserved popularity of

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their supposed successors. His Royal Highness's title, his talents, his princely spirit, his knowledge of, and regard for, the constitution are unquestionable: and it was these splendid virtues, and his connexion with the first characters in the country, who shewed their ardent love of such virtues by their attachment to the Prince, that deprived him of what even the adversaries of his friends could not but acknowledge to be due to his birth and those qualities which have endeared him to the people. His right to the sole regency was, therefore, most unbecomingly sacrificed at the shrine of party. And when it is considered, that the question was not so much, whether His Royal Highness should be sole Regent, as whether the administration should retain its power, the very indecency of the ministerial proceedings must pronounce an eulogium on the Prince.

This conduct, however, did not fail to thin the Court phalanx, and to evince that
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that the Son of Lord Chatham preferred power to popularity: and it is remarkable that many persons immediately attendant on the King, not only murmured against these unparalleled measures, but some had virtue enough to sign the strongest protest against them by relinquishing situations of trust and honour, with a possibility of incurring the King's displeasure, should his Majesty on his recovery be induced to consider such conduct as matter of personal offence, rather than a veneration for the rights of the Prince, the constitution, and the laws.

The clamour raised on this occasion against the Duke of Queensberry, the Marquis of Lothian, and the Lords Rawdon and Malmesbury was too violent to be soon forgotten. They, in particular, were considered as persons highly favoured by the Sovereign, and whose gratitude ought to have kept them within the pale of ministerial obedience. Yet what is the crime these noblemen have committed?

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They have let a sense of right prevail over a sense of interest; and chose rather to abandon their Court colleagues than abet them in a measure which they, with the ablest politicians in the kingdom, conceived to be subversive of natural right and legal propriety. They knew not that their reverence for the constitution could be construed into irreverence for the King; and they probably thought that their gratitude to the Sovereign whom they had so well served in the cabinet and the field, could not be more strongly shown than in testifying their regard for the rights of his Son, and the welfare of the State, which, they too plainly saw, were on the eve of violation by the hand of ministerial policy, stretched beyond all limits, impatient at once to grasp and to extend unconstitutional power.

Ministerialists, in order to render *their* enemies obnoxious have not failed to represent them as disaffected to the King.

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But the publick at large, and even many who personally opposed the minister on the Regency business, have been anxious to shew their loyalty and personal regard for his Majesty, by pouring in addresses from all parts and all parties, expressive of the most lively happiness on his recovery.

If the minister has taken these addresses as any way complimentary to his proceedings, he must be egregiously mistaken. They are, perhaps, the only addresses which have been lately offered, that come directly from the hearts of the people, many of whom have also addressed the Queen. But by party artifice, and disrespectfully insinuating the Prince to be involved in party disputes, the people have been injuriously withheld from approaching his Royal Highness with congratulatory addresses on an occasion which must have given him a happiness far transcending that of any subject, not only as a most affectionate Son, but as relieving him

him from the incessant cares of government, the superintendence of cabinets, and the contentions of party.

Addressees, however, have not been wanting to His Royal Highness from some who have discernment enough to see these things in a proper light, and who have spirit enough to pursue the dictates of their better judgment. We could wish they had been more numerous; not so much from an idea of complimenting the Prince as from giving him a favourable opinion of the people he is one day to reign over. We cannot on this occasion help commending the conduct of a gentleman whose example ought to have pervaded the country, and whose known affection for the King gives due weight to his exertions in favour of the Prince. We allude to Mr. Boswell, of Auchinleck, who, with several judicious and argumentative observations, moved and carried an Address to the Prince, from the noblemen and gentlemen of Ayrshire, his native county; and who,

who, with that spirit of just discrimination and enlarged sentiment, so properly his own, evinced the truest loyalty, in thus observing the independency of virtue, and the force of genuine honour in the *gentleman* and the *patriot*, rising superior to party prejudice, and nobly contemning those meaner considerations which enchain the servile and the sordid.

Congratulations might surely have been paid to His Royal Highness, *as the Son of the King*, without offence to any party. They were due to him as Heir Apparent to the Throne, as an august Prince, and a true Patriot.

But the artifices which went to deprive him of his rights, would scarcely be withheld from retrenching his honours, and to endeavour at raising an impediment between Him and the hearts of the people. Hence the ministerial outcries against all those who have attached themselves to His Royal Highness; the danger of their politics, and the *far-fancied* profligacy of their morals. Politics which, we confess are
 inimical

inimical to corrupt influence; and morals obdurately obnoxious to corrupt practices. They have the misfortune, however, to be in no estimation at the Treasury; and the runners of the Court, initiated in a different faith, would be deemed hereticks, were they not only to disbelieve, but to decry them.

In the tumult of their joy for the recovery of the King, let not the people forget the state craft of ~~the~~ minister. Let them recollect not only how he gained his power; but let them duly consider the extent of it, and the purposes to which it has been, and may be made subservient.

The danger is proportionate to his popularity; a popularity built on too sandy a foundation to bear even a slight gale of adversity. For whence is it derived?—The Scotch influence which *he* supports, and the passive obedience which supports *him*; that influence which, in all other administrations has been the theme of general disgust.

The Navy of England is its greatest concern;

cern; and the promotion of its officers ought to be the consequence of long and faithful, or important services. If proportionate rewards are not allotted to those who “ bide the heat of the battle,” how shall fidelity be preserved, or glorious achievements expected?—Does the list of promotions under Mr. Pitt’s administration indicate a proper regard to this point, on which the salvation of the empire may some time depend?—Or, was it not possible to have found a person more adequate to the task, and more acceptable to the service, as First Lord of the Admiralty, than Lord Chatham?—a man whose only recommendation seems to be that he is Mr. Pitt’s Brother?

Is it from this mode of disposing of the most important Trusts of Government that the minister claims publick eulogium?

Or, is it from dispossessing those already in office, for giving their voices in favour of the Prince, that Mr. Pitt hopes to acquire popular esteem?

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Are the publick perfectly satisfied with the treatment experienced on this occasion by Lord Strangford, and the Son of the gallant Lord Rodney ?

Can popularity result from his taxes ?—or can his reveries on the national debt rank him among the Patriots of his country ?

A mere attempt to add to the Excise laws, has heretofore raised universal indignation, and excited popular remonstrance :—Is it by accomplishing *this* measure that the present minister conciliates popular esteem ?

To endanger the liberty of the press is a strong trait of Caledonian policy :—Is it for *this* that the minister gains the applause of the people ?

No ! his popularity results from retaining his place, and withholding authority from his Prince ; from a desire to control Him whom he ought to have obeyed ; and from a dear regard to the interests of his select adherents, and consequently his own.

Of power thus acquired, and thus retained,

tained, it behoves the people to beware ; and to hold in the highest estimation those genuine guardians of the constitution, who, forming one of the greatest Oppositions, in respect to private wealth, publick talents, and tried virtues, may well challenge unbounded confidence, and national esteem.

But we forbear insisting further on known facts, and consequent conclusions. If in this slight sketch we have not adduced all the merits of Opposition, neither have we enumerated all the enormities of administration. This were a task at once too arduous, and too invidious ; for it is not our intention to inflame party enthusiasm, or administer food to political rancour. Fabulous declamation, and indiscriminate censure, are alike unworthy of notice.

Our observations are given as containing facts which tend to dispel the mists of party prejudice, and throw some light on the politicks of the Court.—But more especially to warn the people of the principles, and recal to their memory the measures of the

administration, and the complexion of its cabinet; that they may be able to repel ministerial sophistry; and to judge properly of those who would represent a great and enlightened Opposition as an unprincipled and turbulent faction; and withhold from the Heir Apparent that ardent affection and those publick honours so peculiarly due to Him, as a most accomplished PRINCE and illustrious PATRIOT.

THE END.



